

## A Fourteenth-Century Prose Version of the *Odyssey*

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In 1901 Max Treu published a path-breaking study of the life and works of Manuel Gabalas, later Matthew Metropolitan of Ephesos.<sup>1</sup> In recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in this scholar and prelate whose life covers the last three decades of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth. S. Kourouses' massive biographical study, which draws upon many unpublished manuscript sources, appeared in 1972.<sup>2</sup> It was followed a year later by his short preliminary study of Gabalas' correspondence.<sup>3</sup> In 1974 Dieter Reinsch published the *editio princeps* of the corpus of Gabalas' letters.<sup>4</sup> More recently his interesting ekphrasis of the Easter festival has been edited by Adriana Pignani.<sup>5</sup> Athanasios Angelou has discussed his Kephalaia,<sup>6</sup> and D. Stiernon has published a useful survey of what we know of his career and his writings.<sup>7</sup>

Both Treu and Kourouses allude in passing to Gabalas' Homeric studies, several of which have long been accessible in published form, though sometimes wrongly attributed. The aim of the present study is to present a sample excerpt from the longest of these Homeric studies, which remains unpublished, and to pose some preliminary questions concerning its mode of composition, structure, and purpose.

<sup>1</sup> *Programm des Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam* (Ostern 1901).

<sup>2</sup> Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς εἴτα Ματθαῖος Μητροπολίτης Ἐφέσου (1271/2–1355/60), A', τὰ βιογραφικά (Athens, 1972).

<sup>3</sup> Παρατηρήσεις ἐπὶ τινων ἐπιστολῶν τοῦ πρωτονοταρίου Φιλαδελφείας Μανουήλ Γαβαλά, Ἐπ. Ἐτ. Βυζ. Σπ. 39–40 (1972–73), 114–27.

<sup>4</sup> D. Reinsch, *Die Briefe des Matthaïos von Ephesos im Codex Vindobonensis Theol. gr. 174* (Berlin, 1974).

<sup>5</sup> *Matteo di Efeso, l'Ekphrasis per la festa di Pasqua* (Portici, 1981). Cf. also the same author's "Una inedita ekphrasis della festa di Pasqua," in *Studi bizantini e neogreci*, ed. P. L. Leone (Galatina, 1983), 97–104 and *Matteo di Efeso, Racconto di una festa popolare. Ekphrasis per la festa di Pasqua* (Naples, 1984).

<sup>6</sup> A. Angelou, "Matthaïos Gabalas and His Kephalaia," in *Maistor: Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning* (Canberra, 1984), 259–68.

<sup>7</sup> S.v. Matthieu d'Ephèse, métropolitain byzantin 1272–1355/59, *DSp*, 66–67 (1978), 808–13.

First, a brief account of Gabalas' life. Born in Philadelphieia in 1271/72, he was a pupil and protégé of Metropolitan Theoleptos, who appointed him his protonotarios and sent him to Constantinople in 1309 to discuss ecclesiastical matters. There he remained for a year, and made the acquaintance of many men of letters and influence, including Nikephoros Choumnos and Theodore Metochites. Returning to Philadelphieia in 1310, he broke with Theoleptos over the settlement of the Arsenite schism, which Theoleptos rejected, and was dismissed from his office. In 1312 his wife died in or shortly after childbirth, leaving him an infant son. From 1315 to 1317 we find him again in Constantinople, probably as a protégé of Patriarch John Glykys (1315–19). After a reconciliation with Theoleptos he was ordained a priest, appointed chartophylax of Philadelphieia, and became a monk. He appears to have entertained hopes of succeeding Theoleptos as metropolitan after the latter's death in winter 1322/3. But when his hopes were dashed he returned to the capital, where he once again enjoyed the patronage of Choumnos and Metochites. It was only after the end of the first civil war, in 1329, that he succeeded in his ambition, and was appointed metropolitan of Ephesos, which was by this time under Turkish occupation. In 1339, during a brief period of peace with Umur Pasha, he was able to pay a short visit to Ephesos, but otherwise he spent the last thirty years of his life either in Constantinople or in Brysis in Thrace, of which he became metropolitan κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδόσεως. During the Hesychast dispute he maintained, not without some vacillation, an anti-Hesychast position, and was probably deposed from his diocese in 1351. By 1359/60 he had already died at an advanced age.<sup>8</sup>

The bulk of Gabalas' surviving works are either letters to contemporaries, ceremonial speeches, or

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Kourouses, Μανουήλ Γαβαλάς, 295–356; Reinsch, *Die Briefe*, 4–7.

texts of theological content. Among the few which do not fall under any of these categories is a small group of treatises on Homer. They are:

(1) Πρόλογος διὰ βραχέων ἐγκωμιαστικὸς εἰς τὸν Ὅμηρον ὅπως τε καὶ μεθ' οἷας τῆς γνώμης τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ἐπραγματεύσατο. It was edited—and wrongly attributed to Nikephoros Gregoras—by Matranga, *Anecdota graeca* (Rome, 1850), 520–24 from cod. Vat. gr. 1098, a fifteenth-century manuscript. Matranga's text breaks off abruptly. The missing portion was edited from cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 174 by Treu.<sup>9</sup> From this text it is evident that the Πρόλογος διὰ βραχέων was intended as an introduction to the treatise on the wanderings of Odysseus which is the subject of the present study. It immediately precedes it in the Vienna manuscript.

(2) Ἐπίτομος διήγησις εἰς τὰς καθ' Ὅμηρον πλάνας τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῶς μετὰ τινος θεωρίας ἠθικωτέρας φιλοπονηθεῖσα καὶ τὸ τοῦ μύθου σαθρὸν ὡς οἶόν τε θεραπεύουσα τῆς τῶν νέων εἵνεκεν ὠφελείας. This text was edited from cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 174 by Westermann, *Mythographi, Scriptores poeticae historiae graeci* (Braunschweig, 1843), 329–44. It is also preserved in cod. Lond. Burney 114, a fifteenth-century manuscript apparently unknown to Kourouses, which contains many other texts attributed to Manuel Gabalas. In both Westermann's printed text and in the London manuscript the text breaks off in mid-sentence. In the Vienna manuscript this break occurs at the end of fol. 126r. Fols. 126v–131r contain a monody on Gabalas' friend Kallierges, on whom cf. Kourouses (1972) 188. It looks as if the copyist of the Vienna manuscript, who was none other than Gabalas himself, stopped writing at the end of fol. 126r and forgot when he resumed writing that he had not completed copying the previous text.

The Ἐπίτομος διήγησις recounts very briefly and in order the adventures of Odysseus from his encounter with the Laestrygonians to his return to Ithaca and his reunion with Penelope. Each adventure is followed by a short moral interpretation, the burden of which is that the temptations of pleasure must be resisted and the counsels of reason followed. There is no trace of Christian allegorization. The text is intended for use in teaching the young. Cf. ἃ δὴ χρῶν προδ' τῶν μύθων τοῦς νέους εἰδέναι σωφρονεῖν βουλομένους καὶ τῇ βελτίονι μορῇ προσιτίθεσθαι.

(3) Αἱ πλάναι τοῦ Ὀδυσσεῶς. This lengthy text—it runs to about 8,000 words—is found in cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 174, fols. 88r–116v, and so far as I know nowhere else. It is the principal object of the present study.

The Ἐπίτομος διήγησις bears all the marks of a text composed for school use. Its schematized and repetitive moralizing can hardly have imbued Gabalas' pupils with the delight in the poetry of Homer which Gabalas himself clearly felt, if we are to judge from the numerous Homeric quotations and allusions found throughout his works. As Treu observed, "Homer ist Matthaios' Lieblingsautor." When and where he engaged in teaching we can only guess. His career was interrupted by several periods of unemployment, both in Philadelphia and in Constantinople—and what would be more natural for a man of letters in Byzantium who lacked a job or a patron than to turn an honest penny by taking in pupils? In a letter to Michael Gabras,<sup>10</sup> which Kourouses convincingly dates in November 1326,<sup>11</sup> Gabalas expatiates on the beauty of Homer's style, his depiction of character, his narrative skill, and the moral benefit to be derived from reading his poems, in particular the lessons of misfortune. It may be that it was about this period, when Gabalas' hopes of becoming metropolitan of Philadelphia had been disappointed and no other prospects of advancement had yet appeared, that he took to teaching, and composed this rather discouraging introduction to the study of Homer. But this is nothing more than an unverifiable hypothesis.

The treatise on the wanderings of Odysseus and its preface, the Πρόλογος διὰ βραχέων, are very different in character from the Ἐπίτομος διήγησις. They are completely free from the obsessive concentration on the resistance to the temptations of pleasure. The lesson that emerges overtly in the Πρόλογος and indirectly in the Πλάναι is the importance of intelligence, endurance, resolution, vision, and courage. Odysseus is a hero for a world sorely tried, as was Byzantine society during the civil wars and invasions of the second quarter of the fourteenth century. It is not the pursuit of pleasure that leads men to ruin, but ἀβουλία (Matranga, 522.23) in the face of ἡ πολύτροπος τῶν πραγμάτων κίνησις. Confronted by innumerable misfortunes ὁ πολὺς ἐκείνος τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰ βουλευμάτα περιέπεσεν (ibid., 25). Whatever we may suffer, it is nothing to what

<sup>9</sup>Treu, *Programm*, 41.

<sup>10</sup>Reinsch, *Die Briefe*, 115–16.

<sup>11</sup>Kourouses, *Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς*, 223.

Odysseus faced, and we must be grateful to the poet for providing such a model of resourcefulness and endurance: κοινὸν γὰρ ἔστιν ἀληθῶς παιδευτήριον ἢ κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα ποιήσεις αὕτη, καὶ τὸν μὴ πω παθόντα παθεῖν τε παρασκευάζουσα καὶ τὸν παθόντα ἢ πάσχοντα πεῖθουσα καρτερεῖν (ibid., 524.11–19).

The narrative of the Πλάναι is clear, well-structured, and with occasional moments of suspense. From time to time there are authorial remarks commenting on the sequence of events, but in general the narrative closely follows the Homeric text, from which it borrows many words and expressions. But it is neither a word-by-word paraphrase, like the many surviving paraphrases of the *Iliad*, nor is it a colorless epitome. Nor does it draw on Malalas for its information, like the two summaries of the Odysseus story published by A. Ludwig, *Zwei byzantinische Odysseus-Legenden* (Königsberg, 1898). It is rather a retelling of the central portion of the *Odyssey*. The language is classicizing but simple and without obtrusive rhetorical adornment. The text is broken into short chapters linked by recapitulating connecting passages. Most of the chapters recount a single adventure of Odysseus. But some adventures, such as his encounter with the Cyclops, occupy two or more chapters. The reason for the division of the text into chapters is not clear. Does it imply that it was intended to be read aloud?

For what kind of readership was this text intended? Probably not for schoolboys. It lacks the didactic tone and the concern with grammatical and mythological minutiae which so often marks Byzantine—and later—school texts. It is free, too, from moralizing discourse. An adult readership seems to be addressed, one which had little interest in the kind of matters treated in, say, Manuel Moschopoulos' *Iliad* scholia, and which had little taste for antiquarian Atticism or rhetorical pyrotechnics.

There are two types of late Byzantine narrative text which may offer some points of similarity with the Διήγησις. The first are the paraphrases, usually anonymous, of Byzantine historical and other works transposed from the learned language to a more "popular" register of Greek. One thinks first and foremost of the version of Anna Comnena's *Alexiad*, which has been studied by Herbert Hunger.<sup>12</sup> But there are also "declassicized" versions of

Niketas Choniates, Nikephoros Blemmydes, and George Pachymeres. These were apparently composed for readers who had not had a traditional education in grammar and rhetoric, and who had rejected many traditional attitudes to the written word, but who read books and who sought in them more than entertainment or religious edification. It is perhaps no accident that George Galesiotes and George Oinaïotes, the authors of the paraphrase of Nikephoros Blemmydes' Βασιλικὸς ἀνδριὰς, were friends and correspondents of Manuel Gabalas.

The other direction in which we might look for parallels to the Διήγησις is in Greek vernacular poetry of the fourteenth century. Much of this is trivial in content, "Unterhaltungsliteratur" in heroic character, which reminded their readers and hearers, albeit in a somewhat romantic form, of the great men of the past. The Byzantine *Achilleid* owes little to Homer except the name of its central character. The Tale of Troy, however, was the subject of two vernacular poems, the Byzantine *Iliad* in 1,166 political verses,<sup>13</sup> and the Greek translation of the *Roman de Troie* of Benoît de Ste. Maure, in more than 14,000 political verses, which is still unpublished.<sup>14</sup> There is also the long vernacular poem on Belisarius, which survives in two redactions. It owes little to history. But it presents a hero who triumphs over adversity and saves his country and his people. Gabalas' Πλάναι displays another aspect of the same literary movement which gave rise to the declassicized paraphrases of Byzantine historians and the heroic-romantic poems in the vernacular. Gabalas was too much the prisoner of his education to put Homer aside and tell the story of Odysseus in his own words. Yet he did produce an innovative work, a unicum in Byzantine literature, and saw fit to include it in the collection of his mainly theological works which he copied out in his own hand.

There is a further point to be made. Gabalas was no mere cloistered scholar. Like Odysseus, he was familiar with adversity and knew what it was like to be in a tight corner. When he paid his one and only visit to his diocese of Ephesos in 1339, he had to face a difficult and dangerous journey through

<sup>13</sup>L. Nørgaard and O. L. Smith, *A Byzantine Iliad: the Text of Paris, Suppl. Gr. 926* (Copenhagen, 1975); Italian translation and commentary by Renata Lavagnini, *I Fatti di Troia: L'Iliade bizantina del cod. Paris. Suppl. Gr. 926* (Palermo, 1988).

<sup>14</sup>Cf. M. and E. Jeffreys, "The Traditional Style of Early Demotic Greek Verse," *BMGS* 5 (1979), 116–17, 125–37, repr. in E. M. and M. J. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature in Late Byzantium* (London, 1983).

<sup>12</sup>Cf. H. Hunger, *Anonyme Paraphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI–XIII* (Vienna, 1981).

desolate country, the menace of pirates, virtual house arrest by Umur Beg, serious illness in a town where there were no longer any doctors, obstruction and threats by Khidir Beg, the Turkish governor of Ephesos, attacks by stone-throwing mobs, and the humiliation of being obliged to live in poverty in a tiny house, though he was, as he points out, a metropolitan bishop and Exarch of Asia. Yet he stood his ground and negotiated the best settlement he could for his harassed and terrified flock, whose situation was thenceforth regulated by a formal agreement, and no longer subject to arbitrary change.<sup>15</sup>

For such a man—and the course of his life was one shared by many of his contemporaries—the *Odyssey* was more than a schoolbook. It was a story of courage and resourcefulness which could inspire a Byzantine of the fourteenth century to come to terms with the daunting peripeties of fortune which he and his countrymen faced. The uses of the past are many. The mid-fourteenth century saw the appearance of new attitudes to the Greek past, which included the declassicization of some works of Byzantine history, the imaginative rehandling of old themes in a new and popular medium, and perhaps also a new interpretation of the story of Odysseus, which took it out of the schoolroom and into the harsh world of contemporary reality.

The Πλάναι τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύως is preserved in cod. Vindob. theol. gr. 174, fols. 88r–116v.<sup>16</sup> This man-

uscript contains a collection of Manuel Gabalas' works plus one or two other short texts of primarily religious interest. All but fols. 146r–150v are in the hand of Gabalas himself. It is a composite, made up of thirteen sections, apparently written at different dates. The Πλάναι is in the fifth section, of seven quaternions (fols. 82–137), written sometime after the death of Metropolitan Theoleptos ca. 1324/5. Α παραινετικὸς ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου ἐπὶ τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ Φιλαδελφείας κυροῦ Θεολήπτου is found in fols. 131v–135v.<sup>17</sup> I am grateful to the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek for providing a microfilm of this manuscript.

To illustrate Gabalas' language and style, and the general tone of his narrative, as well as his use of the text of the *Odyssey*, I offer a preliminary text of the sections on Odysseus' encounter with Circe. Gabalas is unsystematic in his use of iota subscripts; I have normalized his orthography in this matter. On the whole I have retained his punctuation, but have occasionally departed from it for the sake of clarity. Words and phrases quoted from the corresponding passages of the *Odyssey*, either verbatim or with minimal modification to suit the morphology and syntax of Gabalas' text, are in italic. The relevant Homeric passage from which they are quoted is indicated in the right margin.

<sup>15</sup> For an account of Gabalas' visit to Ephesos and its attendant tribulations, cf. S. Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1971), 343–48.

<sup>16</sup> H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, III.2 (Vienna, 1984), 304–11.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Treu, *Programm*, 12–35; Kourouses, Μανουὴλ Γαβαλάς, 159–64, 369–75, pls. 23–31. (Kourouses promises a full palaeographical and historical study of this manuscript in the second volume of his study of Manuel Gabalas, which has not yet appeared.) Reinsch, *Die Briefe*, 26–39.

## Odysseus and Circe

Od. 10.136–212

- Ἐβδόμη πλάνη τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύς ἐξῆς διεδέχετο τοὺς Λαιστρυγόνους διαφυγόντα. ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ εἰς τὴν Αἰαίαν νῆσον μετὰ τῆς σφετέρας νεὼς ἀφίκετο, ἔνθα γυνὴ τις ὤκει, δεινὴ καὶ κακότεχνος καὶ πάντ' ἐπισταμένη πράξαι κακὰ φαρμάκων ἔργοις καὶ ἐπωδαῖς, | ἄλλως μεντοὶ εὐπλόκαμος καὶ τὴν φωνὴν 96r
- 5 ἑναρμόνιος. Κίρκη πάντως αὕτη γε ἦν ἢ τὴν κακίαν ἐπίσημος, αὐταδέλφη μὲν Αἰήτου κατ' αὐτὴν ὀλεθρίου καὶ ἀποτροπαίου ἀνδρός, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἥλιου καὶ Πέρσης, ὠκεανοῦ θυγατρός. ἔνθα σιωπῇ τὴν ναῦν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς κατήγαγεν Ὀδυσσεὺς μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων εἰς τὸν λιμένα· ἐκβάντες δὲ ἔκειντο δύο ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας πόνῳ καὶ λύπῃ ὁμοῦ τὴν ζωὴν ἀναλίσκοντες. ἀλλ' ὅτε τρίτον ἡμᾶρ ἐγένετο, 96v
- 10 ἐγγὺς λαβὼν καὶ φάσγανον ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ταχέως ἐς περιωπὴν τινα ἀνήει ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς, εἴ πως ἔργα ἴδοι ἀνθρώπων καὶ φωνὴν [τε] πύθοιτο. καὶ δὴ εἰς σκοπιὰν ἀνελθὼν ὄρᾳ διὰ τοῦ δρυμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὕλης καπνὸν ἀνιόντα ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κίρκης δώμασιν. εἶτα ἐσκέπατο ἐλθεῖν καὶ πυθέσθαι. βέλτιον δ' οὖν ὅμως ἔδοξεν ἐλθόντα πρῶτα ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, δείκνον τοῖς ἐταίροις δοῦναι, καὶ πέμψαι πυθέσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀμιγῇ τὰ πράγματα χωρεῖν πέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς τὰ ἡδέα καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συμβαίνει, οὕτως ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ καὶ ἐγγὺς ἦδη ὄντι ἔλαφος αὐτῷ ποθὲν φαίνεται ἐξιὼν ἐκ τῆς ὕλης. καὶ ὁ μὲν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν κατῆει ἐκ τῆς νομῆς πτόμενος· ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς μέσον πλῆττει κατὰ τὸ νῶτον, καὶ τοῦ δόρατος ἀντικρὺ περάσαντος κατέπεσεν ἐν τῇ κόνει 20
- μυκησάμενος. εἶτα λαβὼν ῥώπας καὶ λύγους καὶ σχοῖνον ὅσον ὀργυιὰν πλεζάμενος ἀμφοτέρωθεν εὐστραφῇ, συνέδησέ οἱ τοὺς πόδας. καὶ ἐπεὶ μὴ οἶός τε ἦν ἐπ' ὤμου φέρειν ἑτέρα χεῖρ, μάλα γὰρ ἦν τὸ θηρίον μέγα, ἐπὶ κεφαλῇς φέρει, ἄνω τῷ δόρατι ἐρειδόμενος. καὶ τῆς νεὼς καταβαλὼν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐγείρει μελιχίους λόγους ἄνδρα ἕκαστον. οὐ παρ' εἰμαρμένην, ὦ φίλοι, 25
- λέγων, καταδυσόμεθα εἰς τὸν Ἄδην καίπερ ἀχνύμενοι. ἀλλὰ δέον ἕως ἔνεστι τῇ νηὶ βρώσις καὶ πόσις τροφῆς μιμνήσκεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ τρύχεσθαι τῷ λιμῷ. οὕτως εἰπόντι πεισθέντες καὶ ἐκκαλυψάμενοι, ἐθαύμαζον παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τὸν ἔλαφον κείμενον, ὅτι καὶ μέγα ἦν τὸ θηρίον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχάρισαν ἰδόντες, τὰς χεῖρας νιψάμενοι εὐωχίαν κατεσκευάζοντο.
- 30 καὶ τότε μὲν ὅλον ἡμᾶρ εἰς ἥλιον καταδύντα ἐκάθηντο ἐστιώμενοι κρέατα πολλὰ καὶ οἶνον ἡδύν. ἡλίου δὲ καταδύντος ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐπὶ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ, ἡμέρας δὲ φανείσης δημηγορίαν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐποιήσατο, | καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἀκούειν 97r
- 35 πάντας ἐκέλευσεν: εἶτα, ὦ φίλοι, φησὶ, οὐκ ἴσμεν ὅπη ζόφος καὶ ὅπη ἡμέρα, οὐθ' ὅπη ἥλιος ὑπὸ γῆν εἴσιν, οὐδ' ὅπη ἀνεῖται, ἀλλὰ βουλευώμεθα θάττον εἴ τις ἐστὶ βουλή· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶομαι εἶναι. εἶτα καὶ τὴν νῆσον διέξεισιν ὅπως αὐτὴν ἄπειρος ἐστεφάνωται θάλασσα, καὶ τὸν ἀνιόντα ἐν μέσῃ διὰ τῆς ὕλης καπνόν· ἃ δὴ καὶ Κύκλωψ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀνδροφόνος ἀκούσας, εἰ παρῆν, κατεκλάσθη ἂν τὴν ψυχῇν. ἐκλαιον οὖν οἱ δυστυχεῖς ὀξέως μάλα δάκρυα πολλὰ καταχέοντες. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν πράξις οὕτω πλείστα θρηνοῦσιν. ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς δίχα πάντας τοὺς ἐταίρους ἡρίθμει, καὶ ἀρχηγὸν ἀμφοτέροις παρέσχετο. καὶ τῶν μὲν αὐτὸς ἦρχε, τῶν δὲ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος. εἶτα καὶ κληρὸς βαλὼν ταχέως ἐκίνει, ἐξέθορε δὲ ὁ κληρὸς τοῦ Εὐρύλοχου, καὶ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἐταίρους παραλαβὼν κλαίοντας ἐπορεύετο, κατέλιπον δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως θρηνοῦντας ὀπισθεν. εὖρον δὲ ἐν ταῖς βήσσαις τὰ τῆς Κίρκης δώματα, ἐν ξεστοῖς λίθοις πεποιημένα. περὶ δὲ αὐτὰ λύκοι ἦσαν καὶ

- 45 λέοντες, φαρμάκοις καταθελχθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρρητοποιοῦ γυναικός, οἱ καὶ  
κυνῶν δίκην αὐτοὺς περιέσαινον, οὐκουν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὀρμήσαντες νόμῳ θηρῶν,  
κᾶν ὅτι μάλιστα ἐφοβήθησαν. σπάντες δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς κακοτέχνου, ἤκου-  
ον αὐτῆς ᾄδούσης λιγυρᾷ τῇ φωνῇ, καὶ ἰσθὸν μέγαν ἐξυφαινούσης λεπτὰ καὶ  
χαρίεντα καὶ λαμπρὰ φέροντα ἰδῶρα†. ἀλλὰ τις ἐκείνων πολὺ κρείττων καὶ  
50 συνεστῶτως καὶ τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ μάλιστα φίλος, Πολίτης ὄνομα, ὅπως τε ἤκουσεν  
ᾄδούσης τῆς γυναικός καὶ ὥς ἅπαν περιμέμυκε τοῦδαφος, καὶ ὥς ἡ θεὸς ἡ γυνή  
ἐστί, τοὺς φίλους θάπτον καλεῖν ἐκέλευε. τοῦ δὲ γεγονότος ταχέως ἡ γυνὴ ἐξελ-  
θοῦσα τὰς θύρας τούτοις ἀνέωξε καὶ ἐκάλει. οἱ δὲ ἅμα πάντες, οὐκ εἰδότες τί  
πεύσονται, εἶποντο. μόνος δὲ ὁ Εὐρύλοχος ὑπέμεινε, δόλον εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα  
55 νοήσας. εἴτα εἰσαγαγοῦσα καὶ κατὰ τοὺς θρόνους καθίσαι προτρέψασα κυκεῶνα  
ἐν χρυσῇ φιάλῃ ἐσκεύασεν, ἵν' οἱ δυστυχεῖς πίοιεν, τυρὸν δὲ καὶ ἄλφιστα καὶ μέλι  
χλωρὸν σὺν οἶνῳ Πραμνίῳ ἐκύκα, ἀνέμιγνυ δὲ ἐπιβούλως τῷ σίτῳ χαλεπά τινα |  
φάρμακα, ἵνα λάθοιντο παντελῶς τῆς πατρίδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ μὲν ἔδωκεν, οἱ δὲ 97v  
ἐπιον, αὐτίκα ῥάβδῳ πλήξασα τοὺς ἀθλοῦς τοῖς συφεοῖς συνέκλεισε, χοίρους ἐξ  
60 ἀνθρώπων δυστυχῶς γεγονότας, οἱ σὺν μὲν εἶχον κεφαλὰς καὶ φωνήν τε καὶ  
τρίχας καὶ ὅλον εἶπεν σῶμα, νοῦς δὲ στερεὸς ἦν ὥς τὸ πρόσθεν. οὕτω κλαίοντες  
συνεκλείσθησαν. τοῖς δὲ ἡ Κίρκη πρίνης καὶ βαλάνου καὶ κρανέας καρπὸν παρ-  
έβαλεν ἐσθίειν, ὅποια καὶ σύες αὐτόχρημα χαμαικοῖται ἀεὶ ἐσθίουσι. οὕτω καθ'  
ὅλου τὰ τῆς τέχνης οὐχ ἱκανὰ τοὺς ὄρους μεταβάλλειν τῆς φύσεως, κᾶν τὴν  
65 αἴσθησιν κλέπτωσιν. ὁ δ' Εὐρύλοχος ταῦτ' ἰδὼν, ταχέως ἤλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, τὴν  
ἀγγελίαν τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ τὸν πικρὸν παρὰ μικρὸν λέξων θάνατον. οὐδ' ἔτι οἴος  
τε ἦν εἰπεῖν καίπερ τὰ πολλὰ προθυμούμενος, ἅτε μεγάλῳ τὴν ψυχὴν βεβλημένος  
ἄλγει· τῷ γὰρ ὀφθαλμῷ αὐτοῦ δακρυῶν ἐπίμπλαντο, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ θρηνεῖν μάλιστα  
προυθυμεῖτο. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πάντες ἐρωτῶντες ἐθαύμαζον, τότε δὴ τῶν ἄλλων  
70 ἐταίρων κατέλεξε τὸν ὄλεθρον ὥς ἐγένετο, καὶ οἶαν ὑπέστησαν πλάνην, οὔτε τῶν  
πρόσθεν κακῶν ἦττω, οὔτε τῶν μετὰ ταύτην παρὰ μικρόν.

- Οὕτω τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς ἐταίροις παρὰ τῆς Κίρκης ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς πυθόμενος τὸ  
ξίφος τοῖς ὤμοις περιβαλόμενος καὶ τόξα, ἐκέλευε τὸν Εὐρύλοχον ἡγήσασθαι  
τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέραις τῶν γονάτων λαβὼν ἰκέτευε μὴ ἀνάγειν αὐτὸν ἐκείσε  
75 ἄκοντα, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ που λιπεῖν. ἰσχυρίζετο γὰρ οἷς εἶδεν, ὥς οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἐλεύσε-  
ται οὐτ' ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἐκείθεν ἄξει παραγενόμενος. εἴτα παρήνει φεύ-  
γειν σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς θάπτον, ἵνα τὸ κακὸν ἡμᾶρ ἐκείνο φύγοιεν. ὁ δὲ γε  
Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτοῦ μένειν τὸν Εὐρύλοχον κελεύσας παρὰ τῇ νηὶ ἐσθίοντά τε καὶ  
πίνοντα, αὐτὸς παρὰ τῆς νεώς τε καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀνῆει. ἀλλ' ὅτε δῆτ' ἔμελλεν  
80 ἀνὰ τὰς βήσσας ἰὼν εἰς τὰ τῆς Κίρκης ἀφίξεσθαι δώματα, προμηθεὺς αὐτῷ  
λογισμὸς ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ συναντᾷ, ἐπεὶ δὴ λόγῳ ἀεὶ καὶ φρονήσει τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ  
Ὀδυσσεὺς διετιθεῖ. ὅς καὶ πῇ ποτε, δύστηνε, ἔρχῃ, ἐκείνον ἦρετο, μόνος διὰ τῆς  
ἄκρας, ἀμαθὴς ὢν τῆς χώρας, οἱ δὲ σοὶ γε ἐταῖροι | ἐν Κίρκης κατακλείονται 98r  
ὥσπερ σύες κευθμώνας ἔχοντες ὀχυροῦς. ἡ ταῦτα λυσόμενος δεῦρο ἔρχῃ; ἀλλ'  
οὐμενοῦν οὐδέ σε νοστήσειν ἐκείθεν φημί, μενεῖς δὲ σὺ ἔνθα οἱ ἄλλοι. οὕτω πρὸς  
85 ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τὰ εἰκότα διαπορήσας σωτηρίαν ἑαυτῷ τινὰ  
ἐξευρίσκει. ἔμελλε δὲ πάντως εὐρήσειν Ὀδυσσεὺς ὢν πολυμήχανος καὶ  
πολύτροπος. καὶ δῆτα φάρμακον ἐπιστάμενος ἀντιπράττειν δεδυνημένον τῇ  
τέχνῃ τῆς μαρᾶς ἐκ γῆς ἀνασπᾷ. φύσις δὲ τῷ φαρμάκῳ ῥίζα μὲν μέλαινα, ἄνθος

Od. 10.212–275

97v

Od. 10.281–285

98r

Od. 10.303–305

- 90 δὲ γάλακτι ἐοικός, ὄνομα δὲ μῶλυ, ὅπερ ἀντικρὺ μὲν ἀνασπῶσι θάνατον ἐκ τῆς  
 ῥίζης ἐπάγει, ἄλλως δὲ τοῦτο σοφισαμένοις οὐδέν. ὁ δὲ φάρμακον λαβὼν τε καὶ  
 ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατακρύψας ἥμισυ καταπτήσσει πρὸς τὰ τῆς Κίρκης τεχνάσματα,  
 ἀλλὰ θαρρούντως ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐγχείρει τῶν φίλων ἕνεκα. προδιαγράφει δ'  
 95 ἐφεξῆς πάντα τῷ λογισμῷ, οἷα μὲν ἐκείνη, οἷα δ' αὐτὸς κατ' αὐτῆς πράξει, καὶ  
 πῶς ταύτῃ ξυμβὰς ὕστερον ἐκ προνοίας τινὸς κακῶς ἔχοντας τοὺς φίλους εὖ  
 διαθήσει, καὶ ὡς ἐκείθεν ἀπήμονες ἀπελεύσονται, μὴ ὡς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ἴσων  
 πειραθέντες κακῶν. οὕτω προδιασκεψάμενος ἐγχειρεῖ τῇ ὁδῷ. καὶ εἰς τὰ τῆς  
 Κίρκης ἰὼν δώματα, καίτοι πολλὰ κυμαινόμενος, ὅμως στὰς ἐν ταῖς θύραις καὶ  
 100 καλὸν αὐτῆς ἀκούσας ᾄδούσης, βοᾷ. ἡ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε ταχέως ἐλθοῦσα τὰς θύρας  
 ἀνοίγει καὶ ἔνδον καλεῖ. καὶ θρόνος αὐτίκα παρῆν, καὶ θρῆνυς ὑπὸ τῷ θρόνῳ,  
 καὶ ὁ κυκεὼν ἐσκευάζετο, καὶ το φάρμακον ἐκιρνᾶτο, καὶ τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ ἐδίδδοτο,  
 καὶ ἐπίνετο, καὶ ἠλέγχετο μηδὲν ἐνεργοῦν ὥσπερ ἡ κακίστη τῶν γυναικῶν ἦθε-  
 λεν. ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς, ἐπεὶ μὴ θελχθεὶς κατὰ τοὺς ἐταίρους Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτίς  
 105 ἦν, ἡ δὲ ῥάβδῳ πλήξασα εἰς τὸν συφεδὸν ἰέναι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐταίρων προυτρέ-  
 πετο, τί δρᾷ; τὸ ξίφος ἐρύσας παρὰ τοῦ μηροῦ κατ' αὐτῆς ἐξώρμησεν, ὥστε κτεῖ-  
 ναι τὴν μιαρὰν προθυμούμενος. ἡ δὲ μέγα βοήσασα ἐπέδραμε καὶ τῶν γονάτων  
 λαβοῦσα καὶ ὀδυρομένη, τίς πόθεν εἶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἔλεγε, ποῦ δέ σοι πόλις, τίνες  
 δὲ οἱ τεκόντες; καὶ θαῦμα αὐτὴν εἶχεν, ὅτι τοιάδε πιὼν φάρμακα οὐκ ἐθέλχθη,  
 110 μηδενὸς ἄλλου γε ἀνατλάντος ὅς ἂν πίῃ. | εἶπε ταῦτα, καὶ πρὶν ἢ μαθεῖν τοῦ-  
 νομα, πρὸς τὸ ἄτρεπτον τοῦ νοῦ ἐνιδούσα, Ὀδυσσεά αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν πολύ-  
 τροπον ἰσχυρίζετο, ὃν μαντικός τις λόγος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐλεύσεσθαι ἔφησεν ἀν-  
 ιόντα ἐκ Τροίας σὺν τῇ νηϊ. εἶτα θεῖναι μὲν ἐν τῷ κουλεῷ τὸ ξίφος ἐκέλευεν, ἐς  
 εὐνὴν δὲ αὐτῇ γε ἐλθεῖν, ἵν' ἀλλήλων θαρροῖεν. ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς, ὅπως τοὺς  
 115 ἐταίρους ἔθηκε σῶας καὶ αὐτὸν ἔνδον ἔχουσα δόλῳ κέλευει μιγῆναι, ὅπως γυμ-  
 νωθέντα δειλὸν καὶ ἀνανδρὸν θεῖν ἀναμνηθεὶς, ἄθελκτος καὶ τῷ φαρμάκῳ τοῦ  
 ἔρωτος ἔμενεν, εἰ μὴ μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσει μηδὲν αὐτῷ βουλεύσειν ἄλλο κακόν. ἡ  
 δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπομνύει, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐθάρρουν. τεσσάρων οὖν ἀμφιπόλων οὐσῶν  
 κατ' οἶκον τῇ γυναικί, ὧν ἡ μὲν ἐκόσμιε τοὺς θρόνους ἄνω μὲν πορφυροῖς, κάτω  
 δὲ λιτοῖς ὑφάσμασιν, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα πρὸ τῶν θρόνων ἀργυρᾶς τραπέζας εὐτρέπιζε,  
 120 χρυσᾶ δ' ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐτίθει ἐκπώματα. . . ὕδωρ δὲ ἡ τετάρτη ἔφερε καὶ ἀνέκαιε  
 πῦρ, καὶ λουτρὰ παρασκευασαμένη κατὰ κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ὤμων ἔλουεν, ἕως ἂν  
 ἐξέλη τὸν κάματον τῶν μελῶν. εἶτ' ἀλείψασα καὶ χλαῖναν καλὴν καὶ χιτῶνα περι-  
 βαλοῦσα, ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. καὶ ὕδωρ ἐκόμιζε νίψασθαι ἢ ἀμφίπολος καὶ  
 125 τράπεζαν παρετίθει καὶ πολλὰ βρώματα ἐπέθηκεν ἡ ταμία ἐκ τῶν παρόντων χαρ-  
 ιζομένη, καὶ ἐσθίειν ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἤθελε, τὰ κατὰ τῶν φίλων πραχθέντα ὡς  
 εἰκὸς λογιζόμενος. ἡ δὲ Κίρκη ὡς ἐνόησεν οὕτως ἔχοντα καὶ μέγα πένθος ἔχοντα  
 τῇ ψυχῇ, τί ποτε οὕτως, Ὀδυσσεῦ, κάθησαι, ἥρετο παραστάσα, ἴσα καὶ  
 ἀναύδης; ἢ τίνα δόλον ἄλλον ὑποτοπάζεις; οὕτω δ' εἰποῦσα, οὐ χρὴ κελεύει τοῦ  
 λοιποῦ δεδιέναι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ μέγαν ὤμοσεν ὄρκον. ὁ δὲ τίς ἂν, ἔφη, δίκαιος  
 130 ἀνθρώπος τροφῆς καὶ πόσεως ἄπαιτο πρὶν καὶ λύσασθαι τοὺς ἐταίρους καὶ ἐν  
 ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν. ἡ δ' ὡς ταῦτ' ἤκουσεν αὐτίκα ἐκβάσα διὰ τοῦ οἴκου, καὶ ῥάβ-  
 δον ἐν χειρὶ ἔχουσα τὰς θύρας ἀνέωξε τοῦ συφεοῦ, ἐξήλασε δ' ἐκείθεν ἐοικότας  
 συνάλοις. εἶθ' οἱ μὲν ἔστησαν ἐναντίοι. ἡ δὲ δι' αὐτῶν ἐρχομένη | προσήλειφεν  
 99r ἐκάστῳ φάρμακον ἄλλο, ἐξ ὧν αἱ μὲν τρίχες ἔρρεον τῶν μελῶν, ἅς πρὶν τὸ οὐλ-  
 135 ὀμενον ἐκεῖνο φάρμακον ἔφυσεν, ἄνδρες δὲ ταχέως ἐγένοντο νεώτεροι ἢ προ-

Od. 10.308–400

98v

99r

τερον ἦσαν, καὶ πολὺ δὲ καλλίονες καὶ μείζονες εἰσορᾶσθαι. καὶ ἔγνωσαν τὸν Ὀδυσσεά καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐνέφυσαν ἕκαστος. καὶ πᾶσι θρήνος ὑπέδν, ὥς καὶ τὸ δῶμα μέγα τι μεμυκέναι καὶ τὴν Κίρκην οἶκτον λαμβάνειν. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ἀπῆδεν οὔτε τῶν πρὶν δυστυχημάτων οὔτε τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, οἷς τε περιέπεσον οὔτε οἷς περιπεσεῖν ἔμελλον.

140

Οὕτω τὴν Κίρκην πρὸς τὸ φιланθρωπότερον τοῦ τρόπου, τοὺς δ' ἐταίρους ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως εἶδος μεταβαλὼν Ὀδυσσεὺς καὶ ἄλλο τι προνοίας ἄξιον δρᾶ τῶν ἐν τῇ νηὶ φύλων ἔνεκα. τῆς γὰρ Κίρκης ὑπ' εὐνοίας αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἰέναι εἰπούσης, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔλκειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον, κτήματα δὲ καὶ ὄπλα πάντα ἐν ἄντροις τιθέναι, εἶτα καὶ αὐτὸν θάπτον ἰέναι τοὺς ἐταίρους ἄγοντα ἄριστον. ἄριστον καὶ αὐτὸς νομίζει, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρὸς ἄρχειν λαχόντος. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἀπιὼν εὖρει ἐκείνους ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν οἰκτρὸν ὀλοφυρομένους καὶ θαλερόν τι καταχέοντας δάκρυον. οἱ δ' οὕτως ἀσπασίως εἶδον αὐτὸν, καὶ οὕτω σὺν δάκρυσι περιεκέχυντο, οἷον ἄγραυλοι μόσχοι περισκαίρουνσι ἐναντίον τὰς μητέρας ἰδόντες ἐλθοῦσας ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς. ἔδοξε γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὕτω παρῆναι, ὥσει τὴν πατρίδα αὐτὴν ἐν ἡπείρῃ ἐτράφησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο ἴδιοιεν παραγεγονότες. οἱ δὲ καίπερ οὕτω θρηνοῦντες ὁμῶς καὶ τῶν ἐταίρων τὸν ὄλεθρον καταλέγειν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ὀδυσσεά ἠξίου. ὁ δὲ μαλακῶς μάλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν ναῦν εὖ θεῖναι κελεύσας πρότερον, εἶτα φησὶν αὐτῷ ἔπεσθαι, ἵνα ἴδοιεν τοὺς ἐταίρους ἐν τῇ Κίρκης ἐσθίοντάς τε καὶ πίνοντας. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπειθοντο, μόνος δ' ἐκώλυεν ὁ Εὐρύλοχος, δειλοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀθλίους ἀποκαλῶν, καὶ, ποῦ ἦκατε, λέγων, τίνων δὲ καὶ κακῶν ἐπιθυμεῖτε εἰς τὰ τῆς Κίρκης καταβῆναι δώματα; ἢ πάντας ἢ σῶας ἢ λύκους ποιήσεται ἢ λέοντας. | διὸ καὶ φυλάσσοιμεν ἄν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸν αὐτῆς οἶκον. ὥσπερ ὁ Κύκλωψ εἰρξεν ὅτε τὸ μέσανλον ἐκείνου κατέλαβον. τούτου γὰρ κἀκεῖνοι ταῖς ἀτασθαλίαις ἀπώλοντο. πρὸς γε μὴν ταῦτα κατὰ νοῦν εἶχεν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκτεμῖν Εὐρύλοχῳ, καίπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔγγιστα συγγενεῖ ὄντι μάλιστα. ἀλλ' οἱ γε ἐταῖροι ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος μειλιχίοις λόγοις ἐκώλυνον. κἀκεῖνος μὲν ἔάν αὐτὸν παρὰ τῇ νηὶ μένειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὴν ναῦν φυλάσσειν ἔλεγεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἔπεσθαι ἡγουμένῳ πρὸς τὰ τῆς Κίρκης δώματα. οὕτως εἰπόντος παρὰ τῆς νεῶς ἀπήεσαν, εἶπετο δὲ καὶ Εὐρύλοχος, δείσας τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς τὴν ἀπειλήν. ὥς ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐταίρους ἐπιμελῶς ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ἢ Κίρκη λούσασα καὶ ἐλαίῳ χρίσασα οὐλας περιέβαλε χλαῖνας καὶ δὴ καὶ χιτῶνας, οὓς δὴ ἐστιωμένους πάντας ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις κατέλαβον. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀλλήλους εἶδον καὶ ἐγνώρισαν ἔκλαιον ὀδυρόμενοι, ἀπανταχοῦ δὲ τὸ δῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν θρηγῶν ἔστενεν. ἢ δὲ Κίρκη παραστάσα τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ μηκέτι θρηγεῖν ἔλεγεν. εἶδεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴ ὅσα φονικοὶ τινες ἄνδρες αὐτοὺς ἔβλαψαν ἐπὶ τῆς χέρσου, βοῦς σφάζοντας καὶ πρόβατα καλά, ἀλλ' ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν ἕως ἄν αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναλάβωσιν, οἷον ὅτε τὴν πατρίδα κατέλιπον εὐθυμοὶ καὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχοντες, οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι νῦν αἰεὶ ἀλῆς μεμνημένοι, καὶ ὧν κακῶν ἔπαθον. οὕτω τῇ Κίρκῃ καλῶς εἰπούση πεισθέντες, πάσας ἡμέρας εἰς τελεσφόρον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάθηντο ἐσθίοντές τε καὶ πίνοντες. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τέλος εἶχεν ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς καὶ τῶν μηνῶν φθινόντων αἱ ὥραι ἐτράπησαν κύκλον στραφῆσαι, τότε δὴ τὸν Ὀδυσσεά οἱ ἐταῖροι ἔξω καλέσαντες μνησθῆναι ἔφασαν τῆς πατρίδος, εἰ γε θεῖον ἐστὶ βούλημα σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς οἶκον αὐτὸν καὶ πατρίδα παραγενέσθαι. ὁ δ' αὐτίκα πεισθεὶς, τότε μὲν ὅλον ἡμᾶρ ἐκάθητο μετ' αὐτῶν ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων.

180

Od. 10.401–574

99v



- ἐλθούσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰ δώματα ἐκοιμῶντο. ὁ δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐξε-  
 λιπάρει τὴν Κίρκην τελέσαι αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν οἷαν ὑπέσθη, ὥστ' οἴκαδε αὐτόν  
 τε πέμψαι καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους προθυμουμενούς, ὡς ὅτε κατὰ μόνας αὐτῷ ὁμιλοῦ-  
 σιν ἀνιώσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ὀδυρόμενοι. ἡ δὲ Κίρκη πρὸς ταῦτα *μηκέτι* | φησὶν 100r  
 185 *ἄκοντες* νῦν ἐνθάδε μένετε ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς δώμασιν. οὐδ' αὐτῇ γε ἐθέλω. ὅμως  
 ἄλλην χρὴ πρῶτον τελέσαι ὁδὸν καὶ εἰς Ἄδου δόμους καὶ Περσεφόνης παράγε-  
 σθαι *ψυχῇ χρησομένους* τοῦ μάντεως Τειρεσίου, ᾧ φρένας εἶναι καὶ μετὰ θάνα-  
 τον λόγος καὶ νοῦν, καὶ μόνον τῶν ἐν Ἄδου φρονεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους σκιᾶς τρό-  
 πον φέρεσθαι. καὶ ἡ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν, ὁ δ' ὡς εἰς Ἄδην ἀκούσας ἀφίξεται πρὶν  
 190 ὅλως θανεῖν, τέθνηκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους, ἀντικρυς *κατακλασθεῖς τὴν ψυχὴν*. καὶ  
*καθήμενος* ἔκλαιεν ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ, καὶ οὐκέτι οὔτε ζῆν οὔθ' ὄραν ἥλιον ἤθελεν. ἐπεὶ  
 δὲ κλαίων καὶ *κυλινδόμενος ἐκορέσθη*, ἀλλὰ τίς αὖν ἠγήσαιο, πρὸς τὴν Κίρκην  
 ἔφη, κατιέναι εἰς Ἄδην, μηδενὸς οὐπω ἰόντος σὺν νηὶ μελαίνῃ. ἡ δὲ *ἰστὸν μὲν*  
 195 *ἔφη στήσαι καὶ ἰστία πέτασαντα* καθῆσθαι ἐν τῇ νηί, τὴν δὲ βορρᾶς ἀν φέρῃ  
 μηδενὸς ἡγουμένου. εἶτα καὶ ὅπως ἀν ἕκαστα πράξῃ σαφῶς αὐτῷ παραγγέλλει.  
 παραγγέλλει δ' ὅπως δι' ὠκεανοῦ περαιωθέντα καὶ ἀκτὴν τινα ἐκεῖσε εὐρόντα  
 διεσκαμμένην καὶ ἄλσιν πρὸς πρὸς δὲ καὶ *μακρὰς αἰγείρους καὶ ἰτέας*, αὐτοῦ μὲν  
 χρὴ προσορμίσαι τὴν ναῦν ἐπ' ὠκεανοῦ, αὐτὸν δὲ εἰς Ἄδην ἐλθεῖν, οὔπερ  
 200 *Ἀχέρων καὶ Πυριφλεγέθων* εἰσρέουσι, καὶ Κωκυτός, ὃς *Στυγὸς ὕδατος ἐστίν*  
*ἀπόρροξ*, οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ πέτρα δύο ποταμοὺς ξυνέχουσα σφοδρὸν  
 ἐξηχοῦντας. οὗ γεγονότα *χοῆν ἐπιχεῖν πᾶσι νεκροῖς* καὶ καταδεῖσθαι ἐλθεῖν εἰς  
 Ἰθάκην, ἰδίως δ' ἀν μόνῳ τῷ Τειρεσίῳ θύειν, ὃν καὶ αὐτίκα ἐλθεῖν ὑπισχνεῖται,  
 καὶ ὁδὸν αὐτῷ δεῖξαι καὶ μέτρα καὶ νόστον, ὅπως ἄρα *ἐπὶ τὸν πόντον ἐλεύσεται*.  
 οὕτως ἡ Κίρκη ταῦτα καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα σαφῶς μάλα τεκμηραμένη, ἐπεῖπερ ἡμέρα  
 205 ἐφάνη τὸν Ὀδυσσεῦ καὶ αὐθις *χλαϊνάν τε καὶ χιτῶνα* ἐνέδυσε, ὁ δὲ διὰ δωμαίων  
 ἰὼν *παρώτρυνεν* ἕκαστον τῶν ἐταίρων *μηκέτι* καθεύδειν, ἀλλ' ἵεναι τῆς Κίρκης  
 τοῦτο εἰπούσης. οὐκ ἔμελλε δ' ἄρα οὐδ' ἐντεῦθεν ἀπήμονας ἄγειν ὁ δυστυχὴς  
 τοὺς ἐταίρους. ἦν δὲ *τις Ἑλπήνωρ νεώτατος*, οὔτε *τι λίαν* ἰσχυρὸς ἐν πολέμῳ  
 οὔτε δὲ ταῖς ἰδίαις φρεσὶν ἀρμοζόμενος, ὃς δὴ *ψύχους ἰμειρόμενος* ἄνευ τῶν  
 210 ἐταίρων | ἐν τοῖς τῆς Κίρκης ἐκάθευδε δώμασιν *οἶνοβαρῶν*. *κινουμένων δὲ τῶν* 100v  
*ἐταίρων* κατὰ τὴν Ὀδυσσεὺς κέλευσιν, τὸν δούπον ἀκούσας, ἑξαπινῆς ὁ  
 δύσμορος ὤρμησε. καὶ *ἐκλαθόμενος* κατιέναι ἦν καὶ ἀνῆει κλίμακα, *κατέπεσε*  
 τοῦ *στέγους* *καταντικρὺ*. ὁ αὐτὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἀστραγάλων ἑάγη, ψυχὴ δὲ ἦλθεν  
 ἴσως τὴν εἰς Ἄδου φέρουσαν δεῖξαι τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ θέλουσα διαπορουμένη. οἱ δ'  
 215 ἄλλοι παρὰ τοῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς μαθόντες ὡς οὐ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα ἤκουσιν ἀλλ' εἰς  
 Ἄδου, *κατεκλάσθησαν* τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ *τὰς τρίχας τίλλοντες* ὥμωζον. ἄνυσιν δ'  
 οὐκ ἦν οὕτως θρηνοῦσι. ἕως δ' οὖν ὅμως ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν ἐπορεύοντο κλαίοντες,  
 οἰχομένη ἡ Κίρκη ἀρνειὸν κατέδησεν οἶον θηλὴν μέλαιναν παρὰ τῇ μελαίνῃ νηὶ  
 εὐκόλως *παρεξελθοῦσα*. τίς δ' ἀν τὴν φαρμακουργὸν οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ὀφθαλμοῖς  
 220 ἰδοὶ *ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα παραγινομένην*. οὕτως ἐπὶ ὅλῳ χρησμῷ κατάγειν  
 παρασκευαζόμενος τοὺς ἐταίρους εἰς Ἄδην ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπροοιμιάζετο τοῖς  
 ταλαιπῶροις, ὅπως ὡς ἀληθῶς μικρὸν ὕστερον ἐκ ναυαγίου ἀφίξονται μηδένα  
 νόστον ὥσπερ νῦν ἡλικιώτες.

Several points emerge from examination of this specimen of Gabalas' work. First of all, the change from the first-person narrative of the *Odyssey* to narrative in the third person permits authorial intervention of several kinds. Recapitulatory and prospective summaries occur at the beginning and end of chapters. The latter are clearly intended to whet the appetite of the reader or hearer. Then Odysseus' boldness and resourcefulness are frequently commented on, for example: οὕτω πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς διαπορήσας, σωτηρίαν ἑαυτῷ τινα ἐξευρίσκει· ἐμέλλε δὲ πάντως εὐρήσειν, Ὀδυσσεὺς ὢν πολυμήχανος καὶ πολύτροπος. Ὁ δὲ γε Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐπεὶ μὴ θελγθεὶς κατὰ τοὺς ἐταίρους, Ὀδυσσεὺς αὖθις ἦν. There are also occasional banal reflections on the order of nature and such topics, for example: Οὕτω καθ' ὅλου τὰ τῆς τέχνης οὐχ ἱκανὰ τοὺς ὄρους μεταβάλλειν τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν κλέπτωσιν. Another result of the change to third-person narrative is that most of the speeches in Homer's text are replaced by indirect speech, represented by authorial narration, or omitted altogether.

While there is no overt Christianization of Homer, mention of pagan gods is in general avoided. Gabalas faced a particularly difficult problem in dealing with Odysseus' meeting with Hermes (*Od.* 10.275–306), during which the god gave him *moly*, the mysterious antidote to the φάρμακα of Circe. What he did was to omit all mention of the meeting, and to make Odysseus solve the problem of coping with Circe by the exercise of reason. Cf. Προμηθεὺς (?προμηθῆς) αὐτῷ λογισμὸς ἐκ τοῦ νοῦ συναντᾷ, ἐπειδὴ λόγῳ αἰεὶ καὶ φρονήσει τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς διετίθει. The dialogue between Hermes and Odysseus becomes an inner dialogue in the mind of Odysseus. Cf. Οὕτω πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς διαλεχθεὶς καὶ τὰ εἰκότα διαπορήσας σωτηρίαν ἑαυτῷ τινα ἐξευρίσκει. Then he goes on to pluck from the earth

ἐπισταμένως α φάρμακον ἀντιπράττειν δεδυνημένον τῇ τέχνῃ τῆς μαιράς and proceeds fearlessly to Circe's house. Προδιαγράφει δ' ἐφεξῆς πάντα τῷ λογισμῷ, οἷα μὲν ἐκείνη, οἷα δ' αὐτὸς πράξει, καὶ πῶς ταύτῃ ξυμβὰς ὕστερον ἐκ προνοίας τινὸς κακῶς ἔχοντας τοὺς φίλους εὖ διαθήσει. The description of the *moly* is transferred from its original place, and the supernatural element in the Circe story is diminished.

In the same way the complex sacrificial ritual performed by Odysseus in order to call up the souls of the dead (*Od.* 11.23–50) is reduced to "They went along the stream of Ocean to the place which Circe had indicated to Odysseus, where Perimedes and Eurylochos held the sacrificial victims." Ὁ Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ τὸ ξίφος λαβὼν πάνθ' ἐξῆς ἐξειργάσατο, ὅποσα καὶ τὸν Τειρεσίαν παρὰ τῆς Κίρκης μεμάθηκε γινόμενα θεραπεύειν, ὥστ' εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ τὰ ἐσόμενα. ὦν δὴ γεγονότων τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα νόστον αὐτῷ προμηνύει. As will be seen when the whole text is published, virtually the whole of the *Nekyia* is omitted, and what remains is restructured and transformed. The summoning of the spirits of the dead was too distasteful and dangerous a topic to be recounted in a work which was to be read as contemporary literature, rather than as a fossil from a remote past. And for a clergyman it was probably a doubly dangerous topic.

So too the long speech of Circe to Odysseus, with its references to Persephone, to sacrifices, and to offering of blood to the shades, is severely abbreviated. And the soul of the unfortunate Elpenor, who fell from the roof where he had been sleeping and Αἰδόσδε κατήλθεν (*Od.* 10.561), is said to depart ἴσως τὴν εἰς Ἄδου φέρουσσαν δείξαι τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ θέλουσα διαπορομένῳ.

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